1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle
they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty pris-
oners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their
obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the
battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces
in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas
who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their
lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why
each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas
being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Te-
nochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears,
proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly
the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for
the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that
this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a
drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult
practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs
dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth
of Mexico.

So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that
they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter
as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty.
Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so
overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl
and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature
goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they in-
vited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage
celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors
to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake,
rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle
of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

finely graded scale of social eminence. (See Plates 33–36.)

A married man received a plot of land directly from the clan or else took over his father's fields if the latter were too old to work. Diligent husbandry, eked out by making stone tools, pottery or practicing some such craft for barter, could produce a good living. Unmarried men helped their fathers and were able to add to their prestige by taking part in the numerous military campaigns.

Since the capture of victims for sacrifice was the chief glory of war, an able soldier who could subdue his enemies and drag them to the rear received much honor. According to the number of captives taken, a warrior had the right to wear an increasingly elaborate costume. Consistently successful warriors could enter an order, like the Knights of the Eagle or the Ocelot (often referred to as Tiger), which performed special dances and rituals. Sometimes a warrior of unusual prowess received additional grants of land or more often obtained an increased portion of the clan's share of tribute. Having reached an established position by this means, he had a more important voice in clan councils and might attain a seat in the council itself. A special honorific, *tecuhtli* (grandfather), which corresponds to chief among the North American Indians, distinguished these men. The title signified high social, but not official, rank, and from these men who had distinguished themselves by probity, bravery and religious observance, high elective and appointive posts were filled.*

In this stratum there were many positions of honor and influence, which, like petty political offices in small North American towns, were held in connection with some other means of livelihood. There were officials who kept order in the markets and tribunals which settled disputes in clan

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

have been an important religious center in Middle Culture times. However, neither trade nor religion broke down the sense of communal and political independence in Central Mexico. (See Plate 35, Fig. 2.)

Foreign relations centered around war, which, we have seen, was an important part of Aztec economy and religion. The same confusion of motives that we find in our modern culture affected the reasons for military action. We wage war for economic, territorial and political advantages and, while condemning the practice in our adversaries, justify our own participation by saying that we are fighting for freedom, to liberate someone, to extend civilization or to ensure peace. Soldiers on our own side are brave and attain glory, preserve our social virtues and sacrifice themselves for the public well-being. Those on the other side are aggressors, agents of evil and cowardly knaves. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge and economic motives, which were inextricably confused with the need for the sacrificial victims requisite for proper adoration of their gods. Thus in warfare the great aim was to take captives, but behind this religious goal lurked the less holy urges of political and economic expediency.

The captive himself attained social status, since he went to a special warrior's heaven. A redoubtable Tlaxcalan chief, named Tlahuicol, was singled out for sacrifice to the sun and fought so successfully with his dummy weapons that he killed some of his adversaries and wounded a number of the others. He was pardoned and offered a chieftaincy in the Tenochcan army. Tlahuicol, however, rejected his pardon and gladly underwent sacrifice for the greater honor and glory in that death. This story illustrates the attitude of the

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

individual warrior, which is not unlike that of the mediaeval knight or career soldier in our own culture.[6]

The Aztec reasons for fighting and their social and moral sanctions for war were not so very different from our own, except that we have many more, due to our superior rationalizations. The Aztec military technique, however, was definitely inferior, since it was not so completely developed a social tool as it is our own culture. The basic organization of the army required the participation of every able-bodied man under the direction of the war chief. However, as Aztec society grew more intricate and greater numbers of warriors took the field, the military structure became more rigid.

The unit of organization was an aggregation of twenty men, several of which were combined into larger bodies of two to four hundred, roughly corresponding to our platoons and companies. Special detachments of from four to six men, who did scouting and raiding, operated much as do the squads of our own military system. The clan commander marshaled the larger bodies, much as a colonel handles his regiment. The clan troops were banded together in four divisions under the heads of the four municipal quarters, and the tribal war chiefs had the supreme command. In a very numerous army the troops from a given quarter, or *barrio*, were sometimes divided into brigades, composed of the forces from two or three clans.[6]

The high tribal officers, the war chief, the chiefs of the quarters and the clan chiefs commanded the larger bodies. The ordinary chiefs and members of the warrior orders, the Knights of the Eagle and the Tiger and of a third infrequently mentioned order, the Arrow, according to their particular ability, took over the lesser units. In other words,

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

723 pation in trade and booty far in excess of the apparent size
648 and importance of the town.[11] (See map, end papers; Plates 41, top; 42, top; 43.)

721 The purely economic and military aspects of war are as crude, when judged by our modern technical standards, as the rest of the purely mechanical aspects of Aztec life. On the other hand, the ritualistic conception of war as the earthly re-enactment of the titanic struggle between opposing forces in nature has a quality almost sublime. The political and economic frictions that brought about conflict were welcomed by the warriors as an opportunity to vibrate to the deep rhythms of nature, rhythms which met in a celestial antiphony in the Sacred War which the Sun fights each day as he, by his own death and sacrifice, ensures the life of man.

721 The War of Flowers was undertaken to satisfy this yearn-
796 ing when no active campaign was in progress. In this incongruously named ceremonial combat the best warriors from several states met in a very real battle, so that feats of arms could be accomplished and captives taken to satisfy the hunger of the gods. One famous War of Flowers was repeated for several years, and the cream of the fighting men of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan vied with the might of Cholula, Huexotcingo and Tlaxcala. If a warrior were captured he met the most glorious of deaths in direct sacrifice to the Sun. If he lived he gained renown. If he were slain, he
[775] was cremated, an honor reserved only for fighting men and passed on to the special heaven where warriors dwell.[12]

726 Such warfare had no place in a conflict with Europeans, but, when reduced to fighting for their bare lives against the Spaniards, the Aztecs put up one of the most desperate de-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Paying only the most cursory attention to this pious little scene, knots of chiefs were converging on a large building at a corner of the plaza. The war chief, Montezuma, was planning an attack on a neighboring town, remiss in its tribute payment, so there must be a gathering of clan leaders to prepare for war. Adorned with helmets like the heads of jaguars, eagles and wolves, girt with armor of wadded cotton brocaded in many colors or embroidered with feathers, their faces set with nose and lip ornaments of jade and gold, these fierce-visaged chiefs passed proudly through the door, but in an anteroom to the council chamber they stripped off their ornaments. Then bareheaded and barefooted, with downcast eyes, they made their way to the throne, where sat the slim figure of Montezuma, simply dressed but for the gold crown and jade earrings of his exalted office. (See Plate 33.)

The austerity of the council chamber was not borne out by Montezuma's other apartments, which contained all the appurtenances of a sybaritic potentate. The war chief's two wives and his many concubines occupied magnificent quarters. Kitchens and storehouses were spread over another great space, for not only were there some three hundred guests served at each meal but also a thousand guards and attendants. In contrast to the profusion within, outside the kitchen door squatted patiently a threadbare group of countrymen from whose carrying bags swayed the mottled heads of the trussed turkeys which they had brought as offerings for the royal larder.

Other rooms in Montezuma's palace contained the tribal treasure, composed of the tribute wrung from many towns. Gold, jade, rich feather mantles, baskets of produce, were heaped in abundance. Clerks were listing the goods in pic-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce izcuinti, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, *items*, dances, and *gifts* [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta movible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mismas casas, hazian combites, y vasquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mismo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjidad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796[x] [314] [289] [776] [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchihuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta movible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchihuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofreciaŋ, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask us to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at *mexico* in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

Lá quinze decima fiesta movible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le baptizar. Quando le baptizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al baptismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha ceremonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la usan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La setzẽa decima fiesta movible.

Despues los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

584

643 the seasoned warriors, the fearless warriors, the
701 Otomí, and the noblemen who dwelt in the young men's houses.

721 And when it had come to pass that the ruler adorned them, when he had done this to the brave warriors, then the ruler ordered all the majordomos to bear their goods, all the costly devices, and all the valuable capes there to battle, that the ruler might offer and endow with favors all the [other] rulers, and the noblemen, and the brave warriors, the men [at arms] who were about to go to war, who were to be extended as if made into a wall of men dexterous with arms. And the ruler forthwith called upon the rulers of Texcoco and Tlacopan and the rulers in all the swamp lands, and notified them to proclaim war in order to destroy a [certain] city. He presented them all with costly capes, and he gave them all insignia of great price. Then he also ordered the common folk[2] to rise to go forth to war. Before them would go marching the brave warriors, the men [at arms], the lord general, and the commanding general.

726 The lords of the sun, it was said, took charge and directed in war. All the priests, the keepers of the gods, took the lead; they bore their gods upon their backs, and, by the space of one day, marched ahead of all the brave warriors and the seasoned warriors. These also marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tenochtitlan. Again these marched one day ahead of all the warriors of Tlatilulco. These also marched one day ahead of all the men of Acolhuacan, who likewise marched one day ahead of all the Tepaneca, who similarly marched one day ahead of the men of Xiloteper; and these also marched one day ahead of all the so-called Quaquata. In like manner the [men of] other cities were disposed. They followed the road slowly and carefully.

And when the warlike lands[3] were reached, the brave warrior generals and commanding generals then showed the others the way and arranged them in order. No one might break ranks or crowd in among the others; they would then and there slay or beat whoever would bring confusion or crowd in among the others. All the warriors were extended there, until the moment that Yacauitztli, [god of] the night, would descend—that darkness would fall.

tiacahoan, in oquichtin, in tequioaque, in quaquachicti, in otomj: ioan in telpuchtemj in pipilti.

auh in ie iuhquj, in otezcencauh tlatoanj, in tiacauh, in iuh oquichtinh. Niman quinnaoatia, in tlatoanj: in ixquichtin calpixque, injc intlatquj ietiaz; in ixquich tlaçotlanquj, tlaujztli: ioan in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, in vmpa iauc, in quinmacaz, in quintlauhtiz, in tlatoanj: in ixquichtin tlatoque, ioan in pipilti, ioan in tiacahoan, in oquichtin in iauteoatoque, in iuhquj oçelotenanti, quauhtenanti mochiuhtoque: ioan in tlatoanj, achto quinnotza in tlatoanj tetzcuco, ioan tlacopan: ioan in ixquich chinanpanecatl in tlatoque, quinoçaquitia, injc iautlatoa, injc poliuiz ce altepetl: quintlauhtia, in ixquich tlaçotilmatli, ioan quinmaca, in ixquich tlaçotlanquj tlaujztli. Niman no ic quinnaoatia: in ixquich in jmaçeoal, injc iauquiçatiuh: impan hicatiuj in tiacaoan, in oquichtin, in tlacochcalcatl tecutli, ioan tlacateccatl,

tonatiuh itlatocahoan mjtoaia, qujiacana in qujujca iauc, iacattiuj in ixquichtin tlamacazque, in teupixque, quinmama in jntevoan cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in ixquichtin tiacahoan, in tequioaque, no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in ixquich iauquizquj in tenochcatl, no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in ixquich iauquizquj tlatilulcatl: no cemjlhujtl quimjtztiuj, in ixquich aculhoacatl: no cemjlhujtl quitztiuj, in ixquich tepanecatl, no cemjlhujtl quitztiuj, ixilotepecatl: no cemjlhujtl q'mjtztiuj, in ixquich moquatitoa: çan no iuj in oc cequj altepetl, motetecpana, iujian, iocuxca, in otlatoca.

Auh in jcoac, oazioac teuatenpan, tlachinoltenpan, in iehoantin tiacaoan tlatlacuchcalca, tlatlacatecca njman teamaca, tetecpana, aiac vel tepanauja, aiac vel tetlan quiça, çan njmon vncā quinmjctia, quinujujtzquj, in aquin tlaixneloznequj: tetlan quiçaznequj, in oconmotza ixquich iauquizquj, in ie inman in oualhuetz acsujztli, in tlaoalli injc tlaioalcuioaz: auh in jcoac ie itech nequetzaloz, in altepetl poliuiz, achto oc cenca mochiia in tletl, in quenman cue-

2. The corresponding Spanish passage reads: "Mandaua luego, a los valerosos, que llamauan orones, a todos los principales, para ir, y para ser soldados; y mandaua a su gente, y los daua armas."

3. Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Tlacopan, etc. Sahagún, op. cit., II, p. 105 (lugares para la guerra soldados), and p. 109 (los lugares de los soldados).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves. [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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4. *Chimalpanecatl*: Sahagún's summary on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "y los de la tierra seca, que son los comunes de los chinampas."

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanqujçiauhque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechittlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oqujcaqujtique moteçuma qujntlatlatia qujnpopoloa.

727

Auh in vmpa inuc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

[202
701]

Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotzā motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

[431]

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequjntin motequjoacaxima anoce cequjntin telpuchiacatī. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ootlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnqujztiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

721
729
727

Auh intla oalmjtoa inujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ootlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoiotique in pillod in quauhiotl, in oceloiotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçtuma

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Appendix C

Continuation of the Twenty-first Chapter[1]

. . . He alternated [his lip plugs] when he fitted them in. And [Moctezuma gave him] his head band [with two tufts] of eagle feathers [ornamented] with obsidian knives fashioned of gold, and his cape with, perhaps, the serpent mask design, or the earthen vessel fashioned of feathers, or the ocelot cape with a red border; and a breech clout with long ends, having either the eagle claw or the market place design.

At that time he acquired new sandals—not embroidered nor cut according to a pattern, but black, with their thongs of either orange or red leather. And when he went to the palace, he put the sandals on in order to go along the road. He went receiving great honors, because he was Moctezuma's chieftain. He proceeded with much acclaim. And when he reached the Eagle Gate he drew off the sandals which he had put on; he was no longer shod when he entered the royal palace, where were the great men dexterous in arms, the war leaders.

And also at that time he won the title known as general or commanding general. If the general or commanding general were to die, then [another] would be chosen and selected [from among] those who had been made their deputies. They said that they had become lords of the sun.

And all the seasoned warriors, who had entered the field of battle, all these Moctezuma rewarded. When the Feast of Tlacaxipeualiztli was celebrated, he gave each of them four pieces of black cloth, each eight measures broad. And likewise he gave the leaders of the youths the cape of scorpion design with a striped, orange border and the carmine colored breech clout with the wind jewel design at the ends.

And [as for] those whom we knew to be seasoned war leaders and leaders in the fray, then started [the custom] that Moctezuma [had] the hair of those who were chieftains cut as shown ones or as Otomí [warriors].

When and wherever war was proclaimed, always they remained guarding and paying heed to

. . . q'papatla y' çaço catleuatl conaquiz. auh in iquauhcicalpiaya coztic teocuitlatl in itecpayo. auh in itilma, aço couaxayacayo, anoço yuitica tehtecomayo, anoço ocelotentlapalli in q'maca. motecuiçoma yuã mastlatl yacauiac aço quauhxirtio, anoço tianquiztli omomãtiuh i mastlatl.

yquac yancuicã quicui in cactli, amo tlahmachyo amo cuicuiltic çan tliltic. in icuetlasmeccayo aço uitzteculli. anoço chichiltic cuetlastli. auh in iquac ye yauh tecpã ommocactia inic ohtli q'toca. cenca momaniçoteitiuh ypampa ca ytlacauh im motecuiçoma. cẽca motleyotitiuh. Auh i ye onaci quauhquiatiuc quicopina in icac quitlalia aoc momocactia inic calaqui tecpan tlahtoca in ompa cate uchuey quaquauhti, uchuey ocelome i yaotlachcaua.

Auh no yquac quimahcoua in tocaitl im mitoua tlacochcalcatl. anoço tlacatecatl. intla miquiz tlacochcalcatl anoço tlacatecatl yquac ano pepenalo. yeuantin ym ixiptlayouh mochiuaya. quihtouaya ytlahtocaua mochiua in tonatiuh.

Auh in iquichtin i yaotequiuaqz i yaotitlancalaqz i ye mochintin in q'ntlaulitiaya motecuiçoma. yquac in tequiquistiloya in tlacaxipeualiztli in q'mmacaya tilpupuztlauac chichicuec çotl nanauhmaca. auh no yuã in telpochiaqz in q'mmacaya camopalihuauanq' colotlalpilli nochpalmastlatl yacayeccacocaxyo.

Auh i yeuantin ĩ in otiq'ttemeuhqz i yaoyaquaqz i yaotlachcauh. oncã quiçaya in q'nquachicxicmaya. motecuiçoma anoço quimotlaimaya. in tlacauh catca.

in iquac çaçocampa ualmitoaya yaoyotl çã mochipa quichiuhcaz quipopoluhcaz in inquauhyo in

1. For ending of Chapter 21, above.

701 721 their estate as men dexterous in war, as men of valor, as chieftains. Thus none, when they went, might take account that they might die. [For] if war were not proclaimed, if they were not to go off to die, none might know for how much time they might live. And if war were proclaimed, then set forth together the assembled men of Mexico. The generals and the commanding generals led them. When they reached the place which they were to conquer, upon the next day they disposed them in battle array.

726 687 And there on the battlefield went the shorn ones in pairs. The Otomí [warriors] also went in pairs. If one of the shorn ones died in the fray and if the other of the shorn ones turned tail, then Moctezuma [had an official] take after him. No more might he enter the Eagle House; they kept him shut away in his [own] house. Of no further use was he. And they suspended the shorn one. And in the same way they exacted penalty of Otomí [warriors] if one of them died [in battle] and if the other fled. They took after him; they suspended him as chieftain. And also they deprived him of rank if he showed fear.

All with which they had bedight him—the precious capes and costly breech clouts—no longer could he assume. He might put on only a poor maguey fiber cape or a wretched yucca fiber cape, as he deserved.

701 431 643 And perhaps in a year or two [Moctezuma] remembered him, sought him out, and drew him from his home. And when he went before Moctezuma, thereupon he gave him again the devices, perhaps [ornamented] with quetzal feathers or with gold. Then [the ruler] gave him gifts; he presented him a bundle of capes, and provided him with grains of maize—he gave him a canoe full of maize grains; and he provided him with *chía*—he weighed out two large measures of *chía*. And thereafter once again he placed himself among [those in] the Eagle House, because he merited once more assuming all the costly capes and breech clouts and all the honors which were his.

701 726 And if, as a shorn one, or as an Otomí [warrior], he were to take a captive there at Atlixco or at Uexotzinco, much was Moctezuma's heart gladdened thereby. And all the lords were happy because of it; they were pleased and rejoiced therefor, that those who were shorn ones or Otomí [warriors] had taken captives: because men dexterous in war had surrounded [the foe].

imoccoloyo inic oquichti inic tiacauh. inic ayac ꝟ uini ça quipopoltinemi in immiquiz. im nu uelmiluo yaoyotl in nu ommiquiti nu oce ontlamati in oc quexquich cauitl nemiquz, auh intla oualmilto yaoyotl nimã cemolini i ye itlacatl mexicatl. in teyacana tlatlacochcalca. tlatlacateca in oacito in ẽpa tepeuazqz. oc cemilhuipã i yautca.

auh i ye ompa yaoc. ommettitiui in quequachicti. no ommettitiui. in otomi. intla ce oyaomic quachic. intla oc ce ualmocuepa quachiqz. niman ic quitohtocaya i motecocçoma. aocmo calaqz in ẽuhcalli. ça iccen quicallatiaya. aocca moneqz. auh q'caualtiaya inic quachic. Auh çan ye no iuh q'ntlatzacuiltiaya in otomi intla çan no ce omic intla oc ce ualmocuepa. quitohtoca quicaualtia inic tiacauh. auh no quicaualtia inic otlamamauhtiaya.

in isquich in itech oq'tlaliaya in tlaçotilmahtli. in tlaçomastlatl. aoc tle quicui. ça ichtilmahtzintli. anoço icçotilmahtzintli. in q'mulpilia. inic quitlamahcenalmacaya.

auh in quilnamiquia aço ce xiuitl anoço ẽniuitl. in quitemoustya. ychan in q'ualantaya. auh in õya ispã motecuiçoma. nimã ye ic q'ualmaca in tlauiztli aço quetzallo. anoço teocuitlayo. niman quitlauhtia, cen q'milli in q'maca tilmatli. yuã quitlaohtia cem acalli in q'maca tlaolli yuan quichientia. aço ontetl y ucy tzincopinq' ic q'tlamachtia chien. auh qui ye no ceppa yquac tetlan motlalia in ẽuhcali. ypampa ca ontlamahceuh oc ceppa mochi q'cui in tlaçotilmahtli in tlaçomastlatl. in isq'ch ytech poui in imaxiaco.

Auh intla yquachicyo intla yntõyo ypan otlatia in ompa atlixco anoço uexotzinco oc cenca ic papaqz in iyollo motecuiçoma. yuan in isquichtin tlahcoqz ic papaqz ic motlamachtiaya ic ahauiaya. in oppan tlamahqz isquachicyo in imontõyo. ỹpapa ca oquimomauhtitino in quauhyotl in occloyotl.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

648 them as brothers. As other great Caciques had given their
717 obedience to His Majesty, it would be well that they should give theirs as the others had done.

They replied that we had hardly entered into their country, yet we already ordered them to give up their Teules (for so they called their Idols), and that they could
648 not do it. As to giving their obedience to our King, they were content to do so. And thus they pledged their word, but it was not done before a notary. When this was over we at once began our march towards the City, and so great was the number of people who came out to see us that both the streets and house tops were crowded, and I do not wonder at this for they had never seen men such as we are, nor had they ever seen horses.

They lodged us in some large rooms where we were all together with our friends from Cempoala and the Tlaxcalans who carried the baggage, and they fed us on that day and the next very well and abundantly. I will stop here and go on to say what else happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

How, at the orders of Montezuma, they had planned to kill us in the City of Cholula, and what happened about it.

721 AFTER the people of Cholula had received us in the festive manner already described, and most certainly with [a show of] good will, it presently appeared that Montezuma sent orders to his ambassadors, who were still in our company, to negotiate with the Cholulans that an army of 20,000 men which Montezuma had sent and equipped, should on entering the city, join with them in attacking us by night or by day, get us into a hopeless plight,[1] and bring all

[1] *Acapillazen;* literally, place us in chapel, *i.e.*, the place where those condemned to death spend their last night.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

of us that they could [capture] bound to Mexico. And he sent grand promises together with many presents of jewels and cloths, also a golden drum, and he also sent word to the priests of the city that they were to retain twenty of us to sacrifice to their idols.

All was in readiness and the warriors whom Montezuma quickly sent were stationed in some ranchos and some rocky thickets about half a league from Cholula and some were already posted within the houses, and all had their arms ready for use, and had built up breastworks on the *Azoteas* and had dug holes and ditches in the streets so as to impede the horsemen, and they had already filled some houses with long poles and leather collars and cords with which they were to bind us and lead us to Mexico; but our Lord God so ordained that all their plots should be turned against them.

Let us leave this now and go back to say that when, as I have said, they had taken us to our quarters they fed us very well for the first two days, and although we saw them so peacefully inclined, we never gave up our good custom of keeping fully prepared, and on the third day they neither gave us anything to eat nor did any of the Caciques or priests make their appearance, and if any Indians came to look at us, they did not approach us, but remained some distance off, laughing at us as though mocking us. When our Captain saw this, he told our interpreters Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar to tell the Ambassadors of the Great Montezuma, who remained with us, to order the Caciques to bring some food, but all they brought was water and fire wood, and the old men who brought it said that there was no more maize.

That same day other Ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, and joined those who were already with us and they said to Cortés, very impudently, that their Prince had

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 sent them to say that we were not to go to his city because he had nothing to give us to eat, and that they wished at once to return to Mexico with our reply. When Cortés saw that their speech was unfriendly, he replied to the Ambassadors in the blandest manner, that he marvelled how such a great Prince as Montezuma should be so vacillating, and he begged them not to return to Mexico, for he wished to start himself on the next day, to see their Prince, and act according to his orders, and I believe that he gave the Ambassadors some strings of beads and they agreed to stay.

When this had been done, our Captain called us together, and said to us—"I see that these people are very much disturbed, and it behoves us to keep on the alert, in case some trouble is brewing among them," and he at once sent for the principal Cacique, whose name I now forget, telling him either to come himself or to send some other chieftains. The Cacique replied that he was ill and could not come.

721 When our Captain heard this, he ordered us to bring
793 before him, with kindly persuasion, two of the numerous priests who were in the great Cue[4] near our quarters. We brought two of them, without doing them any disrespect, and Cortés ordered each of them to be given a chalchihuite, which are held by them to be as valuable as emeralds, and addressing them with friendly words he asked them what was the reason that the Cacique and chieftains and most of the priests were frightened, for he had sent to summon them and they did not want to come. It seems that one of these priests was a very important personage among them, who had charge of or command over all the Cues in the City, and was a sort of Bishop among the priests and was held in great respect. He replied that they, who were priests, had no fear of us, and if the Cacique and chieftain did not wish to come, he would go himself and summon them, and that if he spoke to them he

[4] [Ue., temple pyramid. —Analyst]

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 783 believed they would do as he told them and would come.

Cortés at once told him to go, and that his companion should await his return. So the priests departed and summoned the Cacique and chieftains who returned in his 721 company to Cortés' quarters. Cortés asked them, through our interpreters, what it was they were afraid of, and why they had not given us anything to eat, and said that if our presence in their city were an annoyance to them, we wished to leave the next day for Mexico to see and speak to the Lord Montezuma, and he asked them to provide carriers for the transport of the baggage and *tepusques* (which are the cannon) and to send us some food at once.

The Cacique was so embarrassed that he could hardly speak, he said that they would look for the food, but their Lord Montezuma had sent to tell them not to give us any, and was not willing that we should proceed any further.

721 While this conversation was taking place, three of our friends, the Cempoala Indians, came in and said secretly to 725 Cortés, that close by where we were quartered they had found holes dug in the streets, covered over with wood and earth, so that without careful examination one could not see them, that they had removed the earth from above one of the holes and found it full of sharp pointed stakes to kill the horses when they galloped, and that the *Asoteas* had breastworks of *adobes*[1] and were piled up with stones, and certainly this was not done with good intent for they also found barricades of thick timbers in another street. At 721 this moment eight Tlaxcalans arrived, from the Indians 782 whom we had left outside in the fields with orders that they were not to enter Cholula, and they said to Cortés—

[1] Sun-dried bricks.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

"Take heed, Malinche, for this City is ill disposed, and we know that this night they have sacrificed to their Idol, which is the God of War, seven persons, five of them children, so that the God may give them victory over you, and we have further seen that they are moving all their baggage and women and children out of the city." When Cortés heard this, he immediately sent these Tlaxcalans back to their Captains, with orders to be fully prepared if we should send to summon them, and he turned to speak to the Cacique, priests and chieftains of Cholula and told them to have no fear and show no alarm, but to remember the obedience which they had promised to him, and not to swerve from it, lest he should have to chastise them. That he had already told them that we wished to set out on the morrow and that he had need of two thousand[1] warriors from the city to accompany us, just as the Tlaxcalans had provided them, for they were necessary on the road. They replied that the men would be given, and asked leave to go at once to get them ready, and they went away very well contented, for they thought that between the warriors with whom they were to supply us, and the regiments sent by Montezuma, which were hidden in the rocky thickets and barrancas, we could not escape death or capture, for the horses would not be able to charge on account of certain breastworks and barricades which they immediately advised the troops to construct, so that only a narrow lane would be left through which it would be impossible for us to pass. They warned the Mexicans to be in readiness as we intended to start on the next day and told them that they were going to give us two thousand[2] warriors to accompany us, so that as we marched along, off our guard, between the two forces our capture would

[1] "Blotted out "three or four."—G. G.

[2] Blotted out "four."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

be sure and they would be able to bind us, and this they might look on as a certainty, for they [the Cholulans] had made sacrifices to their War Idols who had promised them victory.

Let us cease speaking of this which they looked on as a sure thing and return to our Captain who, as he wished to be more thoroughly informed about the plot and all that was happening, told Doña Marina to take more chalchihuites to the two priests who had been the first to speak, for they were not afraid, and to tell them with friendly words that Malinche wished them to come back and speak to him, and to bring them back with her. Doña Marina went and spoke to the priests in the manner she knew so well how to use, and thanks to the presents they at once accompanied her. Cortés addressed them and asked them to say truly what they knew, for they were the priests of Idols and chieftains and ought not to lie, and that what they should say would not be disclosed in any manner, for we were going to leave the next morning, and he would give them a large quantity of cloth. They said the truth was that their Lord Montezuma knew that we were coming to their city, and that every day he was of many minds and could not come to any decision on the matter, that sometimes he sent to order them to pay us much respect when we arrived and to guide us on the way to his city, and at other times he would send word that it was not his wish that we should go to Mexico, and now recently his [Gods] Tescatepuca and Huichilobos, to whom he paid great devotion, had counselled him that we should either be killed here in Cholula or should be sent, bound, to Mexico. That the day before he had sent out twenty thousand warriors, and half of them were already within this city and the other half were stationed near by in some gullies, and that they already knew that we were about to start to-morrow; they also

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

●721 told us about the barricades which they had ordered to be made and the two thousand warriors that were to be given to us, and how it had already been agreed that twenty of us were to be kept to be sacrificed to the Idols of Cholula.

Cortés ordered these men to be given a present of richly embroidered cloth, and told them not to say anything [about the information they had given us] for, if they disclosed it, on our return from Mexico we would kill them. He also told them that we should start early the next morning, and he asked them to summon all the Caciques to come then so that he might speak to them.

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go by Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse [treachery], and that being there in the town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice. As Cortés had already told them that we were going to set out on the following day, for this reason we should make a show of tying together our baggage, which was little enough, and then in the large courts with high walls, where we were lodged, we should fall on the Indian warriors, who well deserved their fate. As regards the Ambassadors of Montezuma, we should dissemble and tell them that the evil-minded Cholulans had intended treachery and had attempted to put the blame for it on their Lord Montezuma, and on themselves

11 Diaz T.H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

as his Ambassadors, but we did not believe Montezuma had given any such orders, and we begged them to stay in their apartments and not have any further converse with the people of the city, so that we should not have reason to think they were in league with them in their treachery, and we asked them to go with us as our guides to Mexico. 721

They replied that neither they themselves nor their Lord Montezuma knew anything about that which we were telling them. Although they did not like it, we placed guards over the Ambassadors, so that they could not go out without our permission, and Montezuma should not come to know that we were well aware how it was he who had ordered it to be done.

All that night we were on the alert and under arms with the horses saddled and bridled, and with many sentinels and patrols, although indeed it was always our custom to keep a good watch, for we thought that for certain all the companies of the Mexicans as well as the Cholulans would attack us during the night.

There was an old Indian woman, the wife of a Cacique, who knew all about the plot and trap which had been arranged, and she had come secretly to Doña Marina our interpreter, having noticed that she was young and good looking and rich, and advised her, if she wanted to escape with her life, to come with her to her house, for it was certain that on that night or during the next day we were all going to be killed, for the Great Montezuma had so arranged and commanded that the Mexicans and the people of the city were to join forces, and not one of us was to be left alive, except those who would be carried bound to Mexico. Because she knew of this, and on account of the compassion she felt for Doña Marina, she had come to tell her that she had better get all her possessions together and come with her to her house, and

11:Dias T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

• 721 she would there marry her to her son, the brother of a youth who was with another old woman who accompanied her.

When Doña Marina understood this (as she was always very shrewd) she said to her, "O mother, thank you much for this that you have told me, I would go with you at once but that I have no one here whom I can trust to carry my clothes and jewels of gold of which I have many, for goodness sake, mother, wait here a little while, you and your son, and to-night we will set out, for now, as you can see, these Teules are on the watch and will hear us."

The old woman believed what she said, and remained chatting with her, and Doña Marina asked her how they were going to kill us all, and how and when and where the plot was made. The old woman told her neither more nor less than what the two priests had already stated, and Doña Marina replied—"If this affair is such a secret, how is it that you came to know about it?" and the old woman replied that her husband had told her, for he was a captain of one of the parties in the city, and as captain he was now away with his warriors giving orders for them to join the squadrons of Montezuma in the barrancas, and she thought that they were already assembled waiting for us to set out, and that they would kill us there; as to the plot she had known about it for three days, for a gilded drum had been sent to her husband from Mexico, and rich cloaks and jewels of gold had been sent to three other captains to induce them to bring us bound to their Lord Montezuma.

When Doña Marina heard this she deceived the old woman and said—"How delighted I am to hear that your son to whom you wish to marry me is a man of distinction. We have already talked a good deal, and I do not want them to notice us, so Mother you wait here while I begin to bring my property, for I cannot bring it all at once, and you and your son, my brother, will take care of it, and then

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

we shall be able to go." The old woman believed all that was told her, and she and her son sat down to rest. Then Doña Marina went swiftly to the Captain and told him all that had passed with the Indian woman. Cortés at once ordered her to be brought before him, and questioned her about these treasons and plots, and she told him neither more nor less than the priests had already said, so he placed a guard over the woman so that she could not escape.

When dawn broke, it was a sight to see the haste with which the Caciques and priests brought in the warriors, laughing and contented as though they had already caught us in their traps and nets, and they brought more Indian warriors than we had asked for, and large as they are (for they still stand as a memorial of the past) the courtyards would not hold them all.

Early as it was when the Cholulans arrived with the warriors, we were already quite prepared for what had to be done. The soldiers with swords and shields were stationed at the gate of the great court so as not to let a single armed Indian pass out. Our Captain was mounted on horseback with many soldiers round him, as a guard, and when he saw how very early the Caciques and priests and warriors had arrived, he said—"How these traitors long to see us among the barrancas so as to gorge on our flesh, but Our Lord will do better for us." Then he asked for the two priests who had let out the secret, and they told him that they were at the gate of the courtyard with the other Caciques who wished to come in, and he sent our interpreter, Aguilar, to tell them to go to their houses, for he had no need of their presence now. This was in order that, as they had done us a good turn, they should not suffer for it, and should not get killed. Cortés was on horseback and Doña Marina near to him, and he asked the Caciques, why was it, as we had done them no harm what-

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 ever, that they had wished to kill us on the previous night? and why should they turn traitors against us, when all we had said or done was to warn them against certain things of which we had already warned all the towns that we had passed through, namely, that they should not be wicked and sacrifice human beings, nor worship Idols, nor eat the flesh of their neighbours, nor commit unnatural crimes, but that they should live good lives; and to tell them about matters concerning our holy faith, and this without compulsion of any kind. To what purpose then had they quite recently prepared many long and strong poles with collars and cords and placed them in a house near to the Great Temple, and why for the last three days had they been building barricades and digging holes in the streets and raising breastworks on the roofs of the houses, and why had they removed their children and wives and property from the city? Their ill will however had been plainly shown, and they had not been able to hide their treason. They had not even given us food to eat, and as a mockery had brought us firewood and water, and said that there was no maize. He knew well that in the barrancas near by, there were many companies of warriors and many other men ready for war who had joined the companies that night, laying in wait for us, ready to carry out their treacherous plans, thinking that we should pass along that road towards Mexico. So in return for our having come to treat them like brothers and to tell them what Our Lord God and the King have ordained, they wished to kill us and eat our flesh, and had already prepared the pots [263 262 266] with salt and peppers and tomatoes. If this was what they wanted it would have been better for them to make war on us in the open field like good and valiant warriors, as did their neighbours the Tlaxcalans. He knew for certain all that had been planned in the city and that they had even promised to their Idol, the patron of warfare, that twenty of

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

us should be sacrificed before it, and that three nights ago they had sacrificed seven Indians to it so as to ensure victory, which was promised them; but as the Idol was both evil and false, it neither had, nor would have power against us, and all these evil and traitorous designs which they had planned and put into effect were about to recoil on themselves. Doña Marina told all this to them and made them understand it very clearly, and when the priests, Caciques, and captains had heard it, they said that what had been stated was true but that they were not to blame for it, for the Ambassadors of Montezuma had ordered it at the command of their Prince.

Then Cortés told them that the royal laws decreed that such treasons as those should not remain unpunished and that for their crime they must die. Then he ordered a musket to be fired, which was the signal that we had agreed upon for that purpose, and a blow was given to them which they will remember for ever, for we killed many of them,[1] so that they gained nothing from the promises of their false Idols.

Not two hours had passed before our allies, the Tlaxcalans, arrived, whom I have already said we had left out in the fields, and they had fought very fiercely in the streets where the Cholulans had posted other companies to defend the streets and prevent their being entered, but these were soon defeated. They [the Tlaxcalans] went about the city, plundering and making prisoners and we could not stop them, and the next day more companies from the Tlaxcalan towns arrived, and did great damage, for they were very hostile to the people of Cholula, and when we saw this, both Cortés and the captains and the soldiers, on account of the compassion that we had felt for them, restrained the Tlaxcalans from doing further damage, and

[1] Blotted out; "and others were burned."—G. G.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

for the work, for, between the two great dangers in which we found ourselves, it was better and more to the purpose to seize Montezuma than to wait until he attacked us; for if he began the attack, what chance should we have? Some of us soldiers also told Cortés that it seemed to us that Montezuma's stewards, who were employed in providing us with food, were insolent and did not bring it courteously as during the first days. Also two of our Allies the Tlaxcalan Indians said secretly to Jerónimo de Aguilar, our interpreter, that the Mexicans had not appeared to be well disposed towards us during the last two days. So we stayed a good hour discussing the question whether or not we should take Montezuma prisoner, and how it was to be done, and to our Captain this last advice seemed opportune, that in any case we should take him prisoner, and we left it until the next day. All that night we were praying to God that our plan might tend to His Holy service.

The next morning after these consultations, there arrived, very secretly, two Tlaxcalan Indians with letters from Villa Rica and what they contained was the news that Juan de Escalante, who had remained there as Chief Alguacil, and six of our soldiers had been killed in a battle against the Mexicans, that his horse had also been slain, and many Totonacs who were in his company. Moreover, all the towns of the Sierra and Cempoala and its subject towns were in revolt, and refused to bring food or serve in the fort. They [the Spaniards] did not know what to do, for as formerly they had been taken to be Teules, that now after this disaster, both the Totonacs and Mexicans were like wild animals, and they could hold them to nothing, and did not know what steps to take.

When we heard this news, God knows what sorrow affected us all, for this was the first disaster we had suffered in New Spain. The interested reader may see

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

how evil fortune came rolling on us. No one who had seen us enter into that city with such a solemn and triumphant reception, and had seen us in possession of riches which Montezuma gave every day both to our Captain and to us, and had seen the house that I have described full of gold, and how the people took us for Teules, that is for Idols, and that we were conquerors in all our battles, would have thought that now such a great disaster could have befallen us, namely that they no longer attributed to us our former repute, but looked upon us as men liable to be conquered, and that we should have to feel their growing insolence towards us.

As the upshot of much argument it was agreed that, by one means or another, we should seize Montezuma that very day, or we would all die in the attempt.

So that my readers may see how Juan de Escalante fought this battle and was killed in it, he and six soldiers and a horse and the Totonac allies whom he took with him, I wish here to describe it before coming to the seizure of Montezuma, so as not to leave anything behind, for it is necessary that it should be clearly understood.

CHAPTER XCIV.

How the Mexican Captains fought a battle against Juan de Escalante, and killed him and a horse and six soldiers and many of our Totonac allies.

IT was in this way; you may remember my having said in the chapter that treats of the subject, that when we were camped at a town called Quiahuitztlan, that there came together many allied towns which were friendly with the people of Cempoala, and our Captain persuaded them to agree not to pay any more tribute to Montezuma, and there were more than thirty towns which rebelled against

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

him. It was then that we captured Montezuma's tax gatherers, as I have already related in the chapter that treats of that subject. When we left Cempoala to come to Mexico there remained in Villa Rica, as Captain and Chief Alguacil of New Spain, one Juan de Escalante, who was a man of high standing, and a friend of Cortés, who ordered him to render to these friendly towns all the assistance they might need.

It appears that the great Montezuma kept many garrisons and companies of warriors in all the frontier provinces, there was one at Soconusco to guard the frontier of Guatemala and Chiapas, another at Coatzacualcos, and another on the frontier of Michoacan,[1] and another on the frontier of Panuco, between Tuxpan and the town which we called Almeria, on the north coast. And it appears that this garrison near to Tuxpan, demanded tribute of Indian men and women, and supplies of provisions for their people from certain towns in the neighbourhood, which towns were allied to Cempoala and did service to Juan de Escalante and to the settlers who were stationed at Villa Rica and were engaged in building the fort. When the Mexicans demanded tribute and service from these towns they replied that they would not give it, for Malinche had ordered them not to do so, and the great Montezuma had approved. Then the Mexican Captains replied that if they did not pay tribute that they would come and destroy their towns and carry them off captive, and that their Lord Montezuma had recently given them those orders.

When our Totonac allies heard those threats they came to Juan de Escalante and complained loudly that the Mexicans were coming to rob them and devastate their country. On hearing this, Escalante sent messengers to

[1] Mechuacan in the text.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 the Mexicans telling them not to annoy or rob those towns, for their Lord Montezuma approved of our all being great friends, and that if they did so he would come against them and attack them. The Mexicans took no notice of that reply or of the threat, but said that we should find them in the field. Juan de Escalante who was a very competent man and prompt in his actions, summoned all our allies from the towns in the Sierra to come with their arms, that is bows, arrows, lances and shields, and he also called together the most active and healthy of his soldiers, (for I have already said that nearly all the settlers who had remained in Villa Rica were invalids and sailors,) and with two cannon and a little powder, three crossbows, two muskets, and forty soldiers and over two thousand Totonac Indians, he went in search of the Mexican garrison, who were already out robbing a town of our allies. They met in the fields at dawn of day, and as the Mexicans doubled in number our Totonac allies, and as the latter were always in terror of them on account of their former wars, at the first attack of the Mexicans with arrows, darts, stones and war cries, they took to their heels and left Juan de Escalante to fight the Mexicans alone, in such a manner that he and his poor soldiers barely reached a town called Almeria, which they set on fire and burned the houses. There he rested a little for he was badly wounded.

726

In those skirmishes and attacks, the Mexicans carried off alive a soldier named Argüello, a native of Leon, a man with a very large head and black curly beard, and he was very sturdy in appearance and a man of great strength. Juan de Escalante and six of his soldiers were very badly wounded and one horse was killed. They returned to Villa Rica and within three days Escalante and the six soldiers were dead.

It was in this way that what we call "the affair at Almeria"

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

and Montezuma released, and that some of them should proclaim themselves as Kings of Mexico, as I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER C.

How the nephews of the great Montezuma went about assembling the other Lords and persuading them to come to Mexico and free the great Montezuma from his imprisonment and drive us out of the City and kill us.

As Cacamatzin, lord of the City of Texcoco, which after Mexico is the largest and most important city that there is in New Spain, knew that his uncle, Montezuma, had been imprisoned for many days, and that we were taking the upper hand in every way that was possible, and also got to know that we had opened the chamber where the great treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was kept, but had not taken anything from it, he determined, before we could take possession of the treasure, to call together all the Lords of Texcoco, who were his vassals, and the lord of Coyoacan, who was his cousin and Montezuma's nephew, and the lord of Tacuba, and the lord of Iztapalapa, and another great Cacique who was lord of Matalçingo, who was very nearly related to Montezuma and of whom it was even said that he was the rightful heir to the kingdom and lordship of Mexico, and who was a chieftain known among the Indians for his personal bravery. While he [Cacamatzin] continued to negotiate with these and other Mexican chieftains that on a given day they should come with all their forces and attack us, it seems that the Cacique whom I have said was known for his personal bravery (whose name I do not know), said that if he [Cacamatzin] would assure to him the Kingship of Mexico, to which he was the rightful heir, that he and all his relations, and the people of the province called Matalçingo,

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

631 643 721

would be the first to take up arms and turn us out of Mexico, or not leave any one of us alive. It appears that Cacamatzin replied that the Chieftainship of Mexico belonged to him and that he himself must be King, for he was the nephew of Montezuma; and that if he [the Lord of Matalçingo] did not wish to come, that they would make war on us without his help or that of his people, for it seems that Cacamatzin had got ready all the Lords and towns already named by me, and had already arranged the day on which they were to fall on Mexico, and that the chieftains of his faction who were then in the city would facilitate their entry.

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While these negotiations were going on, Montezuma knew all about them from his powerful relation [the lord of Matalçingo] who would not come to an agreement with Cacamatzin, and to be more sure of it, Montezuma sent to summon all the Caciques and chieftains of that City [Texcoco], and they told him how Cacamatzin was going about persuading them all with words and gifts to join him in an attack on us, and to free his uncle. As Montezuma was prudent and did not wish to see his city rise up in arms or riots, he told Cortés what was happening. Our Captain and all of us soldiers knew a good deal about this disturbance, but not so fully as Montezuma now detailed it. The advice that Cortés now gave him was that he should give us his Mexican followers and we would fall on Texcoco and capture or destroy that city and its neighbourhood. As that advice did not suit Montezuma, Cortés sent to tell Cacamatzin that he should cease his preparations for war, which would be the means of his destruction, for he wished to have him as a friend, and that all that he could do for him personally he would do, and many other compliments. Now Cacamatzin was a young man who found many others, who shared his opinions, ready to support him in the war, so he sent to tell Cortés,

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that he understood his flatteries and did not want to hear any more of them, but that when he saw him coming then he would say to him whatever he liked. Cortés again sent to tell him that he should beware not to do an ill turn to our King and Lord, for he would pay for it with his person, and lose his life for it. He replied that he knew no King and wished he had never known Cortés, who, for all his fair words, had imprisoned his uncle.

When he [Cacamatzin] sent this answer, our Captain implored Montezuma, as he was such a great Prince, and had among his Captains in Texcoco both great Caciques and kinsmen who were not friendly with Cacamatzin, who was very haughty and much disliked, and as Montezuma had with him there in Mexico a brother of this same Cacamatzin, a youth of a good disposition, who had fled from his own brother to escape being killed by him, (for after Cacamatzin he was the heir to the kingdom of Texcoco,) [our captain implored Montezuma] to concert measures with his people in Texcoco to seize Cacamatzin, or to send secretly to summon him to come [to Mexico,] and if he did come, to lay hands on him and keep him in his power until he had quieted down. Moreover as this (other) nephew was in his house and was subject to him, he should presently promote him to be the Lord and should take the chieftainship from Cacamatzin, who was doing him an injury and going about stirring up all the cities and Caciques of the land to make him Lord over his [Montezuma's] city and kingdom.

Montezuma said that he would at once send to summon him, but he did not think he would come, and that if he did not come he would make arrangements with his Captains and relations to seize him.

Cortés thanked him heartily for this, and even said: "Señor Montezuma, you may indeed believe me that if you wish to go to your Palace, you are free to do so,

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

for since I understand that you are well disposed towards me, I am so devoted to you, that were I not in such a [difficult] position, I would not even insist upon accompanying you when you proceed to your palace with all your nobility. If I have failed to carry out such a plan, it is on account of my Captains who went to seize you, for they are not willing that I should set you free, and also because you say that you prefer to stay in confinement so as to avoid the disturbances through which your nephews would attempt to obtain power over this City of yours, and deprive you of your rule."

Montezuma answered that he thanked him, and as he began to understand Cortés' flattering speeches and saw that he made them, not with any intention of setting him free, but only to test his good will, and also because his page Orteguilla had told him that it was our captains who had advised Cortés to take him prisoner, and he must not believe that Cortés would set him free without their consent, Montezuma added that it was as well for him to remain a prisoner until he could see whither the treachery of his nephews would lead. Moreover he would immediately send messengers to Cacamatzin, begging him to appear before him, as he wished to speak to him about friendship between him and us, and would send to tell him, that as for his imprisonment he need not trouble himself about it, that had he desired to free himself many opportunities for doing so had offered, and that Malinche had twice told him to return to his palace, but he did not wish to do so, but to fulfil the commands of his Gods that he should remain a prisoner. Indeed if he did not so remain, he would soon be a dead man, and the priests who ministered to the Idols had known this for many days, and for this reason it would be advisable to be on good terms with Malinche and his brothers. Montezuma sent the same message to the Captains of Texcoco, telling

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

them that he was sending to summon his nephew to make friends, adding that they should beware how that youth turned their brains so that they would take up arms against us. 721

Let us leave this talk, which Cacamatzin thoroughly understood, for he took counsel with his chiefs as to what should be done. Cacamatzin then began to bluster and say that he would kill us all within four days, and that his uncle was a chicken not to attack us when he advised him to do so, when we were coming down the mountain towards Chalco, where he had the troops all posted and everything ready, that [instead of doing so] he personally received us in his city as though he knew that we had come to confer some benefit on him, and had given us all the gold that had been brought to him as tribute. Moreover we had broken into and opened the house where the treasure of his grandfather Axayaca was stored, and added to all this we had taken Montezuma prisoner, and were already telling him that he must get rid of the Idols of the great Huichilobos, as we wished to set up our own in their places. So that things should not come to a worse pass, and so as to punish such deeds and affronts, he [Cacamatzin] prayed his chieftains to give him their help, for all that he had told them they had seen with their own eyes, even how we had burnt Montezuma's own Captains, and nothing more could be endured, and they ought all to unite as one man and make war on us.

Cacamatzin promised them there and then, that if the Lordship of Mexico should fall to him, he would make them great chieftains, and he also gave them many golden jewels, and told them that he had already made arrangements with his cousins, the lords of Coyoacan and Istapalapa and Tacuba and other relations, to help him, and there were other chieftains in Mexico itself who would assist him and let him into the city at whatever hour he might

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

•721 choose. He said that some of them might go along the causeway and all the rest could go across the lake in their pirogues and small canoes, and they would enter the city without meeting opponents to defend it, for his uncle was a prisoner, and they need have no fear of us, for they knew that only a few days ago, in the affair of Almeria, his uncle's Captains had killed many Teules and a horse, and they had seen the head of the Teul and the body of the horse; that they could kill us all in an hour and could have feasts and stuff themselves with our bodies.

When this speech was finished, they say that the Captains looked at one another, waiting for those who usually spoke first in councils of war, and that four or five of these Captains replied to him, how was it possible for them to go without the permission of their great prince Montezuma, and wage war in his very house and city? that they should first send to let him know about it, and if he consented, they would accompany Cacamatzin with the greatest good will; but otherwise they did not wish to turn traitors. It seems that Cacamatzin was angered with the Captains and ordered three of those who gave that reply to be imprisoned. As there were present at that meeting and council others, who were his relations, who were longing for a riot, they said that they would aid him to the death. So he decided to send to his uncle the great Montezuma to say that he ought to be ashamed of sending him word to come and make friends with those who had done him such harm and dishonour in holding him a prisoner, that such a thing was only possible because we were wizards and had stolen away all his great strength and bravery with our witchcraft, and that our gods and this great lady from Castile, whom we said was our Counsellor, had given us the great power to do what we had done. And in this which he said last he was not in error, for it was certainly the great mercy of God and his

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

blessed Mother that helped us. To return to our story, the gist of his message was, that he would come in spite of us and of his uncle to speak to us and to kill us. [721]

When the great Montezuma heard that insolent reply, he was greatly angered, and at once sent to summon six of his most trusted captains. And he gave them his seal, and he also gave them some golden jewels, and ordered them to go to Texcoco, and secretly to show that seal to certain Captains and relations of his, who were on bad terms with Cacamatzin on account of his haughtiness, and so to manage that they should make prisoners of Cacamatzin and those who were in his confidence, and bring them before him at once. When those Captains had departed, and it was understood in Texcoco what it was that Montezuma had ordered, as Cacamatzin was greatly disliked, he was taken prisoner in his own palace while he was discussing the subject of the war with his confederates, and they brought five of them as prisoners in his company. [643]

As that city stands close to the lake, they got ready a great pirogue with awnings, and they placed Cacamatzin and the other prisoners in it and with a great crew of rowers they brought them to Mexico. When they had disembarked, they placed Cacamatzin in a richly adorned litter fit for a king such as he was, and with the greatest show of respect they brought him before Montezuma. [501]

It seems that in his interview with Montezuma, he was even more insolent than he had been before, and Montezuma knew of the plots he had made to raise himself to the lordship of Mexico, about which he learnt further complete details from the other prisoners who had been brought to him. If Montezuma was angry with his nephew before, he was now doubly so, and he promptly sent him to our Captain to be held as a prisoner, and the other prisoners he ordered to be set free.

Cortés went at once to the palace to Montezuma's

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

721 666 I have already said that he had come here to seek the protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

721 After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

600 The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

sions, but their presence was obligatory, that they might see and learn. Besides, as often as war was proclaimed, a general muster and rehearsal was held at each quarter.[24] We have no detailed report of such exercises, of the evolutions, if any, carried out by the warriors, but an incident of the history of Mexico may furnish us with an approximate picture. When, in 1473, the tribe of Tlatilulco, independent at that time from Mexico, agreed upon attacking the latter, they practised beforehand, and with as much secrecy as possible.[25] Setting up posts of hard wood, they beat against them with their swords and clubs; they sped arrows and threw darts at thick wooden planks, and lastly they went out into the lake and shot at birds flying.[26] This *may* be supposed an illustration of the manner in which the Mexicans practised at arms.

These exercises partaking, frequently at least, of a religious character, they ordinarily took place at the squares surrounding temples, more particularly in the great place of the chief "house of God" ("teo-calli") of Mexico.[27] Immediately preceding a foray or campaign, warriors and youth aggregated there also, not only to practice, but especially to receive their weapons out of the

"other times appointed, the latter caused the young men to practice at arms, that they "might be ready for war. He even set out premiums to those who would distinguish "themselves, and not only was present, but sometimes used the bow and sword, taking "part in the exercises." Also to Torquemada (Lib. X, cap. XIV, p. 236, of 2d volume, but especially cap. XI, p. 232. "En esta fiesta hacian alardes, y escaramuças todos los "Soldados y Hombres de Guerra, donde cada qual pretendia aventajarse al otro; y se "mostraban muy valientes, y esforçados; de donde nacia señalarse muchos, y aventu-"rarse á casos muy peligrosos"), and Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXXI, p. 143).

[24] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147, and cap. XC).

[25] It is well known that the Mexicans had formerly divided into two tribes: the Mexicans proper, of Tenuchtitlan (Tenuchcas), and those of Tlatilulco. The latter never denied their common descent. At the time of their conspiracy to overthrow the Tenuchca they are said to have agreed upon: "that Mexicatl-Tenuchtitlan should be ob-"literated, and Tlatilulco-Mexico should become head of the world" (Tezozomoc, cap. XLI). It is not devoid of interest to know that, as late as 1473 (the year 7 "calli"), or only 48 years previous to the Spanish conquest, the very existence of the Mexican power became seriously threatened by a small tribe, subsisting as an independent people within musket range of Mexico. This fact, and the negotiations of the Tlatilulca with the other tribes of the valley, at that period, furnish one of the best illustrations of the loose manner in which all the tribes subject to Mexico at the time of Cortés were bound to the Mexicans. After the overthrow of the Tlatilulcans by Axayacatl of Mexico, their pueblo became the fifth "quarter" (calpulli), and under Spanish rule it bore the name of "Santiago."

[26] Tezozomoc (Cap. XLI). Durán (Cap. XXXIII, pp. 229 and 230). According to the latter, they at first practised with the sling, throwing stones against a wooden image; he does not mention the use of the sword or club, only missiles. Otherwise, both authors agree perfectly.

[27] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. II, p. 187, of 1st volume).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

646 The existence of this council as
642 a *supreme* authority, proves the Mexicans to have been, not *subject* to the despotic rule of a monarch, but *organized* after the principles of a *military democracy*. They were a barbarous but *free* and *warlike* community.

●721 *Legitimate* causes for war were frequently furnished to the Mexicans. Their traders, or those of allied or subjected tribes, were often exposed to outrage and ill-treatment on the part of and among foreign "pueblos." Such acts were always regarded as justifying open warfare, and the opportunity was speedily improved. But *pretexts*[128] were eagerly sought for also, and the Mexicans therefore never at a loss to find *some* ground for pouncing upon any tribe which excited their cupidity. We have already stated that war was carried on by them for subsistence. It
[782] was further required for the purpose of obtaining human victims, their religion demanding human sacrifices at least eighteen times every year.[129] Every important event, like an improvement of the "teo-calli,"[130] and especially the installation of a new war-chief of the highest degree ("Tlaca-tecuhtli"), had to be celebrated by a special butchery of men,—and these victims had to be obtained through *war*.[131] Therefore the well-known custom of the Mexi-
[724] cans, on the battlefield, to look more to the *capture* than to the slaying of their foes.[132]

[128] The war which resulted in the conquest of Chalco, the foray against Ahuilizapan (Orizava) and Cempoal, were all brought about by the most wanton provocations on the part of the Mexicans (Tezozomoc, Cap. XIX, p. 80; cap. XXI, p. 83; cap. XXXI, p. 48). (Torquemada, Lib. II, cap. XL, p. 150.) (Clavigero, Lib. IV, cap. XIII.) Durán positively denies it, saying that the Mexicans never made war unless provoked, but this is too manifestly untrue (Gomara, p. 442).

[129] These were the regular monthly festivals only.

[130] Durán (Cap. XXXVII, p. 287), when the war against Mechoacan was determined upon: "and that the main reason why he wished to measure himself with their strength "was to try to celebrate with them (by the means of prisoners taken from them) the in-"auguration of the stone, that was similar to the sun, and to tinge his temple with the "blood of these nations." Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 443, Vedia, I, "y para, como "ellos dicen, haber esclavos que sacrificar á los dioses y cebar á los soldados").

[131] It was obligatory upon the chieftain to inaugurate his administration with a military exploit, and great importance was placed upon that the head-chief should make prisoners on that occasion with his own hands. Acosta (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 431). Tezozomoc (Cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXI, p. 101; cap. LXXXIV, p. 147). These three passages relate to Tizocic, to Ahuitzotl, and to the last Montezuma, respectively.) Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, pp. 121, 122, and 123). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. LV, p. 172, and cap. LXIX, p. 198).

[132] This was a very fatal custom, as against the Spaniards. Had the Mexicans been intent upon *killing* instead of overpowering their white enemies alive, their resistance would have been more formidable. Thus, for the sake of capturing a single horseman, they recklessly sacrificed numbers of their own, when they thought to be able to surround him, and cut him off from his corps or detachment. The custom was, however, general among the Nahuatlac tribes.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The question of peace or war could only be decided by the supreme council of chiefs.[133] If war was to take place it was *sometimes*, but *not always*, resolved to send delegates to the tribe concerned, challenging it to fight or to submit and to become tributary to the Mexicans.[134] These delegates carried particular distinctive tokens;[135] they proceeded unmolested to the pueblo which they were to notify, and, entering the council-house, briefly exposed the object of their coming to the chiefs there gathered. If, after deliberation, the tribe thus threatened agreed to submit and to give tribute, then all was well, and the delegates departed again, loaded with presents. But if any reparation or proposal for accommodation other than *actual submission* was proffered, or if the reply was even defiant, the Mexican delegates at once stepped up to the head war-chief of the enemy, and with white paint (which they carried in their casket of supplies) anointed his arms. Further, they placed feathers on his head and gave to him a shield and sword. This was the declaration of war.[136] Thereupon they withdrew, but if a custom prevailing among all the tribes then inhabiting the

[133] We have, on this point, the positive declaration of the last Montezuma himself. When the tribe of Huexotzinco sent delegates to Mexico, proposing an alliance against Tlaxcallan, Montezuma replied to them: "Brothers and sons, you are welcome, rest "Yourselves a while, for although I am king indeed, I alone cannot satisfy you, but "only together with all the chiefs of the sacred Mexican senate" ("Yo solo no puede "valeros, sino con todos los principales del sacro senado Mexicano." Tezozomoc, Cap. XCVII). Also, Gomara ("De las guerras," p. 442, Vedia, I).

[134] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI. p. 129): "This was the common way, although "sometimes they took them by surprise."

[135] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I. p. 834): "In the right carried an arrow, holding it "by its head, the feathered end upwards, and in the left hand a small shield."

[136] Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des Anciens rois de Tezcuco," Cap. XXXVIII, pp. 268, 278, 271, and 272) claims that they sent three different summons, one by the Mexicans, one by the Tezcucans, and another by the Tlacopans. But this is not otherwise confirmed. The answer, unless time was positively requested, and the Mexicans deemed it politic to delay, decided the very first time.

Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 129): "Determined and resolved that there should "be war, they sent certain shields and robes to those whom they intended to assail (as "it was their custom to never send a message without a present)." Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. II, p. 837, almost a literal copy from Mendieta). Tezozomoc (Cap. VIII, p. 15; cap. XXVII, p. 40, etc., etc.). Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXXVIII). Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74; cap. LVII, p. 430. Montezuma being challenged by the Huexotzinca, and Cap. LIX, p. 464, by the Cholulteca). The white paint, "tizatl" (Molina, II, p. 113, "cierto barro, o tierra blanca." See, also, Tezozomoc, Cap. VIII), was an emblem of death, the shield, "for to defend himself therewith," and the sword, "for to offend if "he was able." The latter is analogous to the red tomahawk sent in token of war by northern savages (Loskiel: "Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter "den Indianern in Nord-Amerika." Barby, 1789, Part I, cap. XI, p. 167. Also, Adair: "History of the American Indians").

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

72 | country, had permitted their *coming* unmolested,[137] their *return*, once outside of the council-house, was not placed under any similar safe-guard. Oftentimes that return to Mexico was attended with the most imminent personal danger to the delegates.[138]

The cases, if any, are certainly few in number, where a tribe thus provoked or defied, *voluntarily* submitted to tribute. The Mexicans could be *sure*, almost, of war, *whenever their supreme council had agreed upon it.* Therefore, as soon as the meeting at the official house had concluded, war was proclaimed in the four quarters of the pueblo, and in case of great urgency, a monstrous [203] drum, with a specially dismal sound, called the whole tribe to arms from the top of the chief temple.[139]

72 Owing to the peculiar organization just discussed, a rapid mobilization of the forces of the whole tribe was very feasible. The minor subdivisions gathered under their "captains," and all together proceeded almost simultaneously to the store-houses of the four great quarters of the tribe, where the stewards dealt out the

[137] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 555): "que aunque estas Gentes eran de su "natural condition mas vengativas, que todas las del Mundo, respetaban a' los Embax- "adores de sus mortales enemigos, como a' Dioses, temiendo por mejor violar qualquier "rito de su Religion, que pecar contra la fé dada á los Embaxadores."

[138] For comparison with Loskiel on the northern Indians (Cap. XI, p. 187) see Tezcacoac (Cap. VIII, p. 15). When the "Atempanecatl Tlacaelelitzin" returned for the second time to Acxapuizalco, this time to challenge the Tecpanecas and defy them to open war, and after he had properly decorated their war-chief Tezcacoactli, the latter gave to him a sword, a shield, and a helmet, saying: "Take here, also, something to "protect your body, and this shield and sword, "macuahuitl," and see if you may "return home safely." Atempanecatl was attacked by Tecpanecan scouts, pursued as far as upon Mexican soil, and escaped only through his swiftness and personal bravery. This episode is confirmed by Durán (Cap. IX, p. 74), and by Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XII, pp. 488 and 489), although they both say that the Mexican delegate escaped by avoiding the warriors of the Tecpanecas by circuitous paths. Still, it shows that his return was attended with great personal danger. Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII) attributes this action to the first Montezuma. ("Huehue-Montezuma," or "Montezuma Ilhuicamina.")

[139] Bernal-Diaz (Cap. XCII, Vedia, II, pp. 90 and 91). On the top of the great temple: "y allí tenian un tambor muy grande endemasia, que cuando le tañian el sonido "del era tan triste y de tal manera, como dicen instrumento de los infiernos, y mas de "*dos leguas de allí se oia*; y decian que los cueros de aquel tambor eran de sierpes muy "grandes." Besides this drum they used conch-shells in great numbers, thus creating a horrid noise. The Spaniards grew intimately acquainted with these awful signals on the night of the 1st of July, 1520, when the various instruments called out the Mexican warriors to that pursuit which caused the slaughter on the dyke leading to Tlacopan. Every one reading the splendid descriptions of Mr. Prescott, of this bloody retreat ("History of the Conq. of Mexico," Book V, chap. III), will remember: "the "huge drum in the desolate temple of the war-god sent forth those solemn tones which, "heard only in seasons of calamity, vibrated through every corner of the capital" (p. 388, of Vol. II).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezcucomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 168) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Ycpatepec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and exits, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297-313.)

[177] Tezcucomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por- "que los naturales della eran amigos de Muteczuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascaltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Muteczuma con dadivas los habia "aducido a' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de entrotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Toluca. Tezcucomoc (Cap. LII, p. 88): "Llego' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi- "maroa, que dizen Tlazimoyalan: los otros que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Toluca se volvieron, viendo que su campo no llegava: si iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arrows, but no close combats are mentioned.

[180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Until now we have considered the Mexicans only when in conflict with tribes of their own country and race, inferior or equal to them in degree of culture, and proportionately in military resources. But we must necessarily cast a glance upon their wars against their subsequent conquerors, the Spaniards, and investigate how far our pictures of the organization and the military tactics of the Mexican tribe are confirmed by the events of the conquest. Ere, however, we enter upon this discussion, which shall also furnish us with an illustration of *defensive* Indian warfare in Mexico, it is urgent that we should become acquainted with the nature of *fortifications* erected and used by the aborigines.

While there exists distinct evidence that walls of stone were erected occasionally for the defense of certain positions *not directly connected with*, or in the *immediate vicinity of, settlements*, such instances are very rare. Such is the famous wall by which the Tlaxcallans closed the valley of their eastern confines.[161] In general, the conception of the tribes of Mexico in fortifying any particular place, amounted to *raising it above the surrounding level*, and crowning this raised area with a *parapet* of stone or wood. It is not quite clear whether the elevation extended *always* to the

ties, for the purpose of mutually obtaining victims for religious offerings, and for the exercise of the young men in the art of war. The fact that these battles took place at fixed days and at certain places appointed, is no proof of the latter, but it simply resulted from the custom of challenging an enemy, and meeting him therefore at a specified time and on the "war-ground." (Compare Durán, Cap. LIX, p. 465). The respective forces being quite evenly matched, these actions were renewed from time to time, each party hoping to tire out the other, until to be able to strike a decisive blow; but neither succeeded so far, so that in fact the battles remained practically undecided. Against Tlaxcallan the Mexicans made one great attempt, when the confederacy of the former with those of Huexotzinco was broken up for a short time, and the latter applied to Mexico for assistance against the Tlaxcallans, who had invaded the soil of Huexotzinco. There is as yet a great deal of contradiction and obscurity in regard to those inter-tribal wars, and the pompous descriptions thereof by many authors are scarcely trustworthy. One point appears positive, that however often the Mexicans may have been the worst sufferers in those fights, neither the Tlaxcallans nor their allies were ever able to threaten Mexico seriously. In course of time there is hardly any doubt but that the Mexicans would have tired out and conquered their adversaries, as they had previously tired out and finally subjugated the tribe of Chalco, in the valley. For a truly natural description of these engagements, I refer the reader to the pages of Durán, and especially of Tezcucomoc.

[161] See Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 15): "E a' la salida del dicho valle fallé "una gran cerca de piedra seca, tan alta como estado y medio, que atravesaba todo el "valle de la una sierra a' la otra, y tan ancha como veinte piés, y por toda ella un petril "de pié y medio de ancho, para pelear desde encima, y no mas de una entrada tan an"cha como diez pasos, y en esta entrada doblada la una cerca sobre la otra a' manera "de rebolin, tan estrecho como cuarenta pasos . . ." Also, Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII). Gomara (p. 286. "El primer rencuentro que Cortés tobo con los de Tlaxcalan"). Torquemada (Lib. IV, cap. XXIX). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VI, cap. IV).

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 in the lagune, they were confined to their original area and to such
648 artificial garden-beds as they accumulated around it. Meanwhile their allies on the mainland, the Tecpanecas, were making themselves formidable in warfare to the other tribes; the Mexicans assisting. The moment arrived however, when the latter, having secured a defensive position, acquired military experience and greater strength, sought to free themselves from the tax which had heretofore burthened their trade and barter. War ensued, and the Mexicans, now in turn supported by enemies of the Tecpanecas, completely overthrew the power of the latter tribe. By this victory, they not only secured a foothold on the mainland, but became at once one of the ruling tribes of the western valley of Mexico.[54]

728 The only territorial accession gained by the Mexicans, in fact the only one claimed by them, appears to have been the hill of Chapultepec. They already had the use of the springs rising there, now they acquired their full and unincumbered possession.[55] The remainder of Tecpanecan territory was left to that tribe intact, and in no manner annexed to that of Mexico. The organization of the tribe, its government, and distribution of the soil, remained equally undisturbed. No Mexican representatives were delegated to rule Azcaputzalco or Cuyuacan. But the Mexicans in turn subsequently controlled the military power of the conquered tribe, and, besides, it was thereafter held to tribute. This

[54] Duràn (Cap. IX and X). Tezozomoc (Cap. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, XII, XIII. XIV and XV). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XIII and XIV). Herrera (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XII and XIII). Ixtilxochitl (Hist. des Chichim.," Cap. XXX, XXXI and XXXII). Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. I, LI. LII. LIII and LIV). Clavigero (Lib. III, cap. XVII. XVIII and XIX). Bustamante (Part I. cap. XXIII). Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," Book I, cap. I. pp. 15 and 16).

721 [55] It is even stated that the petition of the Mexicans for stone and wood to construct therewith a channel leading from Chapultepec to their pueblo, was the cause of the war. See Durán (Cap. VIII, p. 66). Tezozomoc (Cap. V, pp. 11 and 12). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 478. "Con esta ocasion, ora esa que ellos de proposito lo buscassen, para romper con los Tepanécas, ora que con poca consideracion se moviessen, al efecto embiaron una embaxada al Rey de Azcapuzalco muy resoluta diziendo, que del agua que los avia hecho merced, no podian aprovecharse, por anerseles desbaratado el caño por muchas partes, por tanto le pedian los proviniésse de madera, y cal, y piedra, y embiasse sus oficiales que con ellos hiziessen un caño de cal y canto que no se desbaratasse.") Chapultepec remained specifically Mexican soil thereafter, it being the source of fresh water for the pueblo of Mexico. When Cortés moved against the tribe the second time, he seized the hill after a short but desperate struggle. (Cortés "Carta Tercera," p. 71, Vedia I. Bernal-Diez, cap. CL, p. 176, Vedia II. Clavigero, Lib. X. cap. XVII). See also Icazbalceta, in his Introduction to the 3d Dialogue of Cervántes-Salazar ("Mexico in 1554," pp. 236 and 237). Veytia (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 142, of 3d vol.). Bustamante ("Tezcoco en los últ: Tiempos." Parte IIa, cap. I, p. 148).

721 696 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, in which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.**[1]

Injc compoalli on chiqúacen capitulo: vncan motenera, in quenjn ichoantin tlatoque (in jpan in tonalli omoteneuh) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilóia in mjqujztli ipan catca.

701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

In jquac ic omotecpac teoanocnzaliztica: njman ic no cuele oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacaz in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, ipan netocchoko, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatolinque, quipalevinque, injc ichoan uel quitlamaltizque, ipampa ca quixtoca, ipan mjxpea, quimcentequjlia in jauh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, qallaquemjzque, quinmuiçotia, Etª. itlaujcecaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aquitiaçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca mexiotla, ueujc mopetlatiuj:

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and atoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatoloia injn oc itzcujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlilóia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac quixtilóia, caoalóia, in amo cenca evi ic cate, ioan quintlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel neztica ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli quj-tzaqua, çan tlapiquiloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjoque, aço çan tepon in tlaiecoa, aço çan tecujd in quixaqua, injc cujuiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victeque, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa oalmaahia, in chapultepec, injc qujncaoa, intlatlacul:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en el mismo cerimoniosso a muerte, a los que por algú grave crimen, estavan presos."*

2. *Ibid.*: *"En acabando de hazer la fiesta de la dedicacion de su señorio. . . . assi de nuevo la grandeza de su señorio."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, loc. cit.

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xiv: *Mo chapultepec oiuaalti.* In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 47, the corresponding Spanish text reads: *"Dezen entre a bañar a Chapultepec, a quarela pudar todos a bañar a Chapultepec. — Este refrán dize el que ha tenido alguna gran enfermedad o alguna carga pesada, con deseo de verse libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, dize: Mo chapultepec oiuaalti, que quiere decir, bañarse ha ya en aquel estanque cuando este cargo o enfermedad se me quitare. Chapultepec es una fuente que está cerca de Méxco, muy buena; los que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dize gran merced. Ard, este adagio se dize [illegible]."*